

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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EXDIS

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TAGS: PARM, US, UR

SUBJ: TTBTP/PNE NEGOTIATIONS - RESTRICTED MEETING OF OCTOBER 6

TTBTP/PNE DELEGATION MESSAGE NO. 30

1. SUMMARY. STOESSEL NOTED OCTOBER 7 WOULD BE FIRST ANNI-  
VERSARY OF PNE TALKS. MOROKHOV COMMENTED ON DRAFT TREATY,  
STARTING BY SAYING THAT PREAMBLE DOES NOT CONTAIN STATEMENT ON  
COOPERATION AND SOVIET SIDE WILL PROVIDE ADDITIONAL WORDS.  
MOROKHOV SAID SOVIET SIDE WILL PUT PART OF ARTICLE I IN PREAMBLE  
AND PART IN ANOTHER ARTICLE. DEFINITIONS ARE USEFUL BUT  
DEFINITIONS IN ARTICLE II ARE NOT SATISFACTORY IN RUSSIAN.  
ARTICLE III IS KEY AND SOVIET SIDE WILL PROVIDE FORMULATION  
BASED ON THEIR POSITION. MOROKHOV SAID SOVIETS STILL DON'T  
UNDERSTAND ARTICLE IV. PROPOSED WORDING UNDERSTANDABLE ONLY  
IF PNE'S ARE TREATED AS EXCEPTIONS. MOROKHOV SAID SOVIETS  
HAVE ONLY MINOR COMMENTS ON ARTICLE V AND VII ON VERIFICATION  
BUT THEY WILL PUT CONTENT OF THESE TWO ARTICLES INTO ONE ARTICLE.  
MOROKHOV SAID SOVIETS HAVE DOUBTS ABOUT ARTICLE VI BECAUSE IT  
IS NOT CONSISTENT WITH RESPONSIBILITIES UNDER ARTICLE V OF  
NPT. MOROKHOV SAID ARTICLE VII PARA 2 IS UNSATISFACTORY. HE  
SAID THERE SHOULD BE PROVISION FOR A JOINT COMMISSION ON  
COOPERATION IN PNE FIELD WHICH WOULD ALSO SOLVE PROBLEMS ARISING  
IN IMPLEMENTATIONS OF TREATY, AND PROVISION THAT RESULTS OF  
COOPERATION BE AVAILABLE TO IAEA. MOROKHOV SAID ARTICLE IX

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SHOULD PROVIDE FOR UNLIMITED DURATION, BUT WITH SUPREME-

INTEREST TERMINATION CLAUSE. HE SAID SOVIETS MIGHT SUGGEST REVISED LANGUAGE FOR ARTICLE X. WORKING GROUP ONE WILL MEET OCTOBER 7. THERE WILL BE A RESTRICTED MEETING OCTOBER 8 AND WORKING GROUP TWO MAY ALSO MEET OCTOBER 8. END SUMMARY.

2. EXPANDED RESTRICTED MEETING (STOESSEL, BUCHHEIM, BAKER, FRYKLUND, HECKROTTE, TUNIK WITH MOROKHOV, TIMERBAEV, SAFRONOV, BEZUMOV, KOVALEV) 6:00 P.M. OCTOBER 6.

3. STOESSEL READ FOLLOWING STATEMENT:

MR. MINISTER, BEFORE WE TURN OUR ATTENTION TO YOUR IMPORTANT STATEMENT TODAY, I WOULD LIKE TO TAKE NOTE OF THE FACT THAT TOMORROW IS OCTOBER 7.

JUST ONE YEAR AGO, ON OCTOBER 7, 1974, WE HELD OUR FIRST PLENARY MEETING IN OUR WORK TOGETHER.

IT IS, IN VIEW OF THIS UNIQUE DATE, PARTICULARLY GRATIFYING THAT WE ARE NOW TAKING UP THE SPECIFIC TASK OF SEEKING A JOINT DRAFT OF THE AGREEMENT WE WERE CHARGED WITH PREPARING.

IT IS THE HOPE OF THE US SIDE THAT PROGRESS CAN BE RAPID.

4. MORKHOV SAID FACT OEPNING STATEMENTS PREPARED BY TWO SIDES BEGAN WITH ALMOST SAME WORDS INDICATED DEGREE OF MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING AND YEAR HAD NOT BEEN WASTED. EVENTS INFLUENCING DISCUSSIONS FAVORABLY HAVE INCLUDED GENEVA CONFERENCE ON NPT, EUROPEAN SECURITY CONFERENCE AND FINAL SESSION AT HELSINKI, MEETING OF LEADERS OF TWO COUNTRIES AT HELSINKI. TOMORROW WE WILL BEGIN WORK ON DETAILS OF TREATY TEXT.

5. MOROKHOV SAID THIS AFTERNOON SOVIET SIDE PREPARED COMMENT ON TREATY IN SPECIFIC TERMS. SOVIET SIDE PROCEEDS FROM ITS OWN POSITION OF PRINCIPLE ON UNDERGROUND NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS. AT PLENARY OF SEPTEMBER 12 SOVIET SIDE PRESENTED IN DETAIL ITS APPROACH IN PRINCIPLE. SOVIET COMMENTS TODAY WILL BE OF GENERAL NATURE BACAUSE SIDES HAVE AGREED ON TWO WORKING GROUPS TO PREPARE SPECIFIC TEXTS FOR SUBMISSION TO DELEGATIONS. SOVIET  
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SIDE COMMENTS ON DRAFT TEXT SUBMITTED BY U.S. AS FOLLOWS:

6. PREAMBLE: SOVIET SIDE WILL PROPOSE ADDITIONS TO REINFORCE IEDA THAT PEACEFUL NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS ARE FOR PRUPOSE OF STRENGTHENING PEACE AND PROMOTING WELFARE OF ALL NATIONS. IT WILL ALSO BE IMPORTANT TO INDICATE PARTIES WILL STRIVE TO PROMOTE COOPERATION IN THE FIELD. THESE ADDITIONS NEEDED TO SET IN PRESPECTIVE PURPOSES OF AGREEMENT WE ARE WORKING OUT.

7. ARTICLE I: IDEAS NOT SUCH AS TO PROVOKE SUBSTANTIVE COMMENT BUT THESE IDEAS COULD BE EXPRESSED IN ANOTHER FORM, PARTLY IN PREAMBLE, PARTLY IN ANOTHER OPERATIVE ARTICLE. DETAILS CAN BE DISCUSSED IN WORKING GROUP.

8. ARTICLE II: SOVIET SIDE SEE AS USEFUL THE IDEA OF DEFINITION OF CERTAIN TERMS TO BE USED IN DOCUMENTS IN PREPARATION. SOVIET EXPERTS HAVE STUDIED PROPOSED US DEFINITIONS AND SOME ARE NOT SATISFACTORY IN RUSSIAN. EXPERTS HAVE SOUGHT SOME CHANGES IN WORDING, BUT BELIEVE IT MORE APPROPRIATE TO DEAL IN SPECIFIC WAY WITH THESE CHANGES IN WORKING GROUP. SOVIET SIDE DOES NOT WISH TO PRETEND ITS PROPOSALS ARE IDEAL BUT HOPES THEY WILL AFFORD BASIS FOR DISCUSSION IN WHICH MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE FORMULAS CAN BE DEVELOPED.

9. ARTICLE III: THIS IS KEY ARTICLE SINCE IT CONTAINS ALL THE BASIC TENETS. YOU ARE WELL AWARE OF SOVIET POSITION. SOVIET SIDE WILL FORMULATE CORRESPONDING ARTICLE ON BASIS THIS POSITION.

10. ARTICLE IV: SPEAKING OPENLY, SOVIET SIDE STILL DOES NOT QUITE UNDERSTAND IDEA EMBODIED IN US DRAFT ARTICLE. PROPOSED WORDING COULD BE UNDERSTOOD AS SAYING PNE'S ARE SOME KIND OF EXCEPTION TO BE CARRIED OUT ONLY UNDER SPECIAL CIRCUMSTANCES. SOVIET SIDE BELIEVES THEY ARE, ON CONTRARY, IMPORTANT FIELD OF PEACEFUL COOPERATION FOR WELFARE OF TWO COUNTRIES AND OF MANKIND.

11. ARTICLES V AND VII ON VERIFICATION REQUIRE ONLY MINOR COMMENTS. SOVIET SIDE IS GUIDED, HOWEVER, BY DESIRE TO MAKE DOCUMENT SHORTER AND WILL SEEK TO EMBODY THESE OBLIGATIONS IN  
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A SINGLE ARTICLE.

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12. ARTICLE VI SEEMS TO DEVIATE FROM OBLIGATIONS ASSUMED BY OUR TWO COUNTRIES UNDER ARTICLE V OF NPT. WE ALL KNOW HOW MUCH WORK HAS BEEN DONE IN IAEA IN PREPARATION FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF ARTICLE V OF NPT. SOVIET SIDE DOES NOT BELIEVE IT IS JUSTIFIED TO INDICATE IN FINAL TEXT OF TREATY CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH EXPLOSIONS WILL BE PROVIDED TO OTHER STATES, SO HAS QUITE A NUMBER OF DOUBTS ABOUT ARTICLE VI.

13. SOVIET SIDE CONSIDERS ARTICLE VII PARA 2 NOT SATISFACTORY IN DEALING WITH COOPERATION. SOVIETS CONVINCED PROSPECTS FOR PNE'S REQUIRE CONTINUED AND GREATER COOPERATION IN IMPLEMENTATION OF ARTICLE V OF NPT. ALSO THE PARTIES SHOULD INFORM IAEA OF PROGRESS IN IMPLEMENTATION, AND THERE SHOULD BE PROVISION FOR THIS IN AGREEMENT. IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE TO ESTABLISH A JOINT SOVIET-US COMMISSION ON COOPERATION IN PNE FIELD. SUCH COMMISSIONS HAVE BEEN SET UP BY OUR GOVERNMENTS IN OTHER FIELDS OF COOPERATION. SUCH A COMMISSION IS IMPORTANT BOTH IN COOPERATION AND IN PROBLEMS RELATING TO THE TREATY AND ITS PROVISIONS CONCERNING VERIFICATION. COMMISSION SHOULD DEAL WITH PROBLEMS ARISING FROM IMPLEMENTATION OF TREATY.

14. ARTICLE IX: SOVIET SIDE BELIEVES IT MORE ADVANTAGEOUS TO MAKE AGREEMENT OF UNLIMITED DURATION BECAUSE IT SHOULD REFLECT THE LONG TERM PERSPECTIVE IN USE OF ATOMIC ENERGY FOR PEACEFUL PURPOSES. WE CANNOT OFFER BENEFITS TO COUNTRIES  
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WITH ONE HAND AND WITH THE OTHER DEPRIVE THEM OF THAT BENEFIT. NATURALLY PARTIES COULD INTRODUCE CHANGES AS NEED ARISES. SOVIET SIDE IS PREPARED TO INCLUDE SUCH PROVISIONS IN THE AGREEMENT. MIGHT PROVIDE THAT PARTY COULD WITHDRAW IF IT DECIDED EXTRAORDINARY EVENTS HAD JEOPARDIZED ITS SUPREME INTERESTS.

15. ARTICLE X: NO SUBSTANTIVE COMMENTS BUT SOVIET SIDE

MIGHT SUGGEST SOME NEW WORDINGS THAT SEEM BETTER FROM STAND-POINT OF RUSSIAN LANGUAGE.

16. IN CONCLUSION MOROKHOV SAID HE HAD NO FURTHER GENERAL COMMENTS ON TEXT. EXCHANGE IN GRATER DETAIL COULD TAKE PLACE IN BUCHHEIM-TIMERBAEV GROUP, AND SOVIET SIDE PREPARED BEGIN WORK IN THAT GROUP ON OCTOBER 7.

17. AS FOR PROTOCOL, SOVIET SIDE WILL PRESENT GENERAL OBSERVATIONS AT RESTRICTED MEETING WEDNESDAY OCTOBER 8, AND THEIR DETAILED COMMENTS IN WORKING GROUP. MOROKHOV SAID IT IS NO SECRET THAT PROTOCOL IS OF GREAT CONCERN TO SOVIET SIDE BECAUSE OF ITS COMPLEXITY, AND BECAUSE OF ITS SAYING NOTHING ABOUT CERTAIN ASPECTS OF SUBSTNCE. IN ORDER TO BE ABLE TO SPEAK AOBUT THIS MATTER IN DETAIL, SOVIET SIDE WOULD LIKE ONE MORE DAY TO WORK ON PROTOCOL. WORKING GROUP II CAN BEGIN WORK THURSDAY OCTOBER 9, OR POSSIBLY ON WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON, IF SOVIET SIDE IS READY.

18. STOESSEL SAID MOROKHOV'S COMMENTS WRE OF GREAT INTEREST, THAT US SIDE WILL STUDY THEM CAREFULL. US SIDE WISHES TO PROCEED AS RAPIDLY AS POSSIBLE ON ALL ASPECTS OF TRATY AND PROTOCOL. IF WORKING GROUP II COULD MEET WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON THAT WOULD BE DESIRABLE. DELEGATIONS SHOULD CONTINUE TO KEEP THIS POSSIBILITY UNDER CONSIDERATION.

19. MOROKHOV SAID SOVIET SIDE IS TRYING TO PUT ITS PRPOSALS INTO ENGLISH LANGUAGE AS WELL AS RUSSIAN. ENGLISH TEXT WILL PROBABLY NOT BE READY UNTIL NOON WEDNESDAY.

20. STOESSEL INDICATED THAT IT WOULD BE HELPFUL, IN INTERESTS OF SPEED, TO HOLD MEETINGS IN MORNINGS WHENEVER POSSIBLE.

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21. IN DISCUSSION OF COMPOSITION OF WORKING GROUPS AMB STOESSEL INDICATED HECKROTTE WILL CHAIR WORKING GROUP II FOR US SIDE BECAUSE OF BAKER'S RETURN TO WASHINGTON. IT WAS AGREED WORKING GROUP I ON TREATY PROPER WILL CONSIST OF THREE PLUS INTERPRETER ON EACH SIDE AND GROUP II WILL CONSIST OF FOUR PLUS INTERPRETER ON EACH SIDE, SUBJECT TO RECONSIDERATION.  
STOESSEL

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